

SIR
BARNABAS SCVDAMORE
DEFENCE.

Vindicating him from those grand imputations of
Treachery and Negligence, in the late Surprisall
of *Hereford*,

Which through the ignorance of some, and malice of others
are unjustly layd upon him.

ALSO,

Discovering the true Causes and Maner of its Surprisall the 18. day
of *September*, *Anno Domini 1645.*



Printed in the Year 1646.

212

BARBARAS SECOND

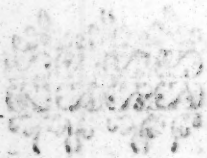
DEFEWOT

indicating him from those grand impostors
Treachery and Negligence, and the
of New York

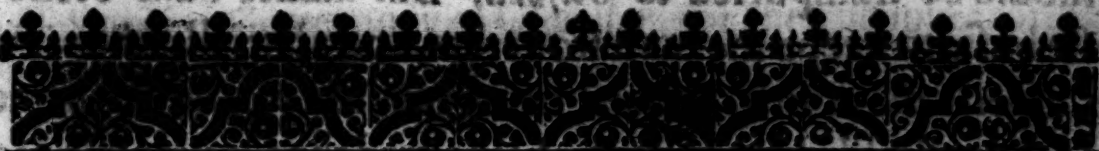
Which through the ignorance of some and malice of others
are unjustly and upon

ALSO

Proving the true Character of the same
of London, James Dumas 1845



Printed in the Year 1846



Sir Barnabas Scudamore's Defence.



H O commands in chiefe, in any kinde of Action, becomes the single subject of all great saylings; when in successe, Officers and Soldiers, expect the benefit of it. This being my case in the surprisall of *Hereford*, the 18. of *December* 1645. is aggravated upon me (with such a kinde of Treachery and wilfull Negligence) that could the charge be made good against me, would render mee not only unfit for employment, but for life. The importance of this Town, at that time, to the King, my Master, and whatsoever depended on him, was not unknowne unto me; And when I have sayd this, I have sayd enough, to shew the degree and odiousnesse of such a villany. Yet Passing by (that which is obvious) the blemishing of that honourable Profession of a Soldier (whose proper Acts are the defence of Justice) and the stayning of the Family whereof I am descended, I will adde this, that to betray those persons, and that Towne unto plunder and slaughter, in whose defence my duty and love did resolve me rather to die, had beene an act unchristian and most barbarous. Yet under the oppression of this restless charge, I have layne languishing a Prisoner at *Worcester*, seven months. My importunity for a triall at a Court of VVarre, hath beene without ceasing. Twice or thrice it pleased his Majesty to write that

(2)

I should be transported to *Oxford*. But malice hath beene no lesse busie to keepe me both from that, and all trialls, then it was to asperse me at first. *Oxford* being rendred to the Parliament, and *Worcester* likely to follow, I laboured the Governour of this latter place, to graunt me a publike hearing there; which yet I failed to obtaine, with effect, through the absence of the said Governour from the Court of VVarre; though the time and place, and summoning of all witnesses were fixed upon severall publique posts by his appointment. Soone after, *Worcester* being in the same condition with *Oxford*, and my marching away included with the rest, and my liberty a consequent thereof, I see not now any other meanes left to vindicate my selfe from reproach with the world (since I know not when I may be so happy as to come to a judiciall triall) then, according to the approved example of persons in like cases, to publish a true relation of the whole businesse: and therefore I shall endeavour without partiality to represent the motions, and naked state, of the whole, as it was carried, poynt by poynt, from the beginning.

Sir *John Bridges* being discontented for the burning of his House, and for some reproachfull Language given him by one of his Majesties Generalls, upon the businesse of the Clubmen: and angry with me, for not having something that he desired, which yet I could not give him; quits the Kings Quarters, and goes to *Gloucester*; where, and in the parts adjacent, residing some two or three Monthes, and comming sometimes into *Hereford-shire* in disguise, the better to lay his designe, at length goes up to *London*, and presents to the Committees of both Kingdomes, Propositions for the taking of *Hereford*, by the way of *Stratagem*, as he calls it. Hereupon Order is given to Colo-

nell *Birch*, then Governour of *Barb*, to joyne his forces with Colonel *Morgan*, Governour of *Glocester*, for the purpose aforesaid.

Coll. *Birch*, his forces being joyned accordingly, comes privately, with Sir *John Bridges* from *Glocester*, to a place some few miles from *Hereford*, where they met with two persons (that is as I am credibly enformed, Cap. *Howorth*, and Cap. *Alderne*) both Captaines under the King, by whom Coll. *Birch* (as in his printed Letter may appeare) was sufficiently informed of the state of the Towne; and returning backe to *Glocester*, they received continuall intelligence of the condition of *Hereford*, by the meanes of the said Captaine *Howorth* and Captaine *Alderne*, but especially from Captaine *Ballard* my Captaine Lieutenant; upon whose advertisements, being now drawne into their party, they most relyed. In few dayes after, these aforesaid two Colonells marched with all their forces to *Ledbury*, in the County of *Hereford*; where they arrived at five a clocke in the evening, upon Munday the 15. of December. Notice whereof being sent mee, the next morning very early from one at *Ledbury*, upon whom I depended constantly for intelligence, I dispatched the messenger backe with directions, that fresh messengers should be sent, to and fro continually, to advise me of the posture and motion of the Enemy. I likewise dispatched instantly Expresses, to intimate the same to Sir *Michael Woodhouse*, Governour of *Ludlow*, and Sir *William Vaughan*, who lay at *Bridgenorth*, collecting forces for the reliefe of *Chester*. And I gave immediate order to Captaine *Chaplaine*, the Towne-Major, to double the Guards in the Towne. And the Towne being weakned by forces sent forth two dayes before, for the reliefe of *Chester*, having drawne in, the day before, all the Horse that were quarte-

ing in the Country (saving the Lieutenant Colonells Troop) for the better fortifying of the Garrison, upon this notice of the advance of the Enemy, I drew in his Troope also; giving him command to guard that night, and to send out of the Towne at Port-shutting a party of his Horse to guard without, and petroll toward the Enemy, to guard within, and goe the Grand-Round himselfe; to goe forth likewise himselfe at Port-opening, the next morning with Horse as farre as *Lug-bridge*: all which the said Lieutenant colonell *Jeffreys* did exactly performe. This Troop was no sooner in, but, though it were drawne in upon this caule, a company of Townsmen take occasion from hence to raise a mutiny, and so, while we should have beene in attendance to the motions of the Enemy without, the townesmen refusing quarter to this troope, and townesmen and souldiers going together by the ears, and the countenance of the mutiny appearing as if it were like to grow to a very great height, worke & difficulty I had enough; yea, I was wholly imployed to suppress the mutiny within. VVhether this was done upon designe or no, I cannot say; but I have inducements to thinke it so. Sure I am, the notice of it gave encouragement to the Enemy: Of whose march, all Munday night from *Ledbury* toward *Hereford*, as far as *Cannon-Froom*, I had notice by divers upon Tuesday morning; as likewise upon Tuesday night, of their returne backe to *Ledbury*. Vpon Wednesday in the afternoone, I was advertised that the enemy was marched out of *Ledbury*, and that the discourse of the common Souldier in *Ledbury* was, that they were going towards *Hereford*.

This

This newes the Messenger delivering privately by word of mouth, when Master *Major*, and some halfe a score Gentlemen and Townes-men were in the roome with me, I did instantly communicate it in publique to them all: And directed Master *Major* to make Proclamation; that the Towns-men might have notice of this intelligence: And withall, he required presently to shovell off the Snow from the Walls, that the place might be fit for them to stand on with their Armes upon the first Alarum; which Proclamation was accordingly made. At two of the Clocke, the said afternoone, Order was given by me, to Livetenant Colonell *Jeffreys*, who commanded the Horse in chiefe, that as he, in his owne person had performed the duty of the Guards the night before, as is before expressed, so he should give Order, that the Officer, who had the Guard that Wednesday night, should doe the very same. This Order Livetenant Colonell *Jeffreys* acknowledgeth to have received from me; and affirmes, that he transmitted it to Major *Fletcher*; who by turne had the command of the Guard that Wednesday night; and Major *Fletcher* under his hand, hath acknowledged that he received the said Orders from Livetenant Colonell *Jeffreys*; But the next daies successe doth manifest, that no Horse were sent out that night, and that Major *Fletcher* failed in that important duty.

About three a clock, that afternoone, I gave Major *Chaplain* Orders to double the Guards: Which he performed not, as by the list he gave me appeares. At nine a clock, I dismiss the said *Chaplain* to goe to his rest; telling him, that I would goe the grand round my selfe; and should expect

him to be with me at five a clock in the morning, to receive from me the defects of the Guards and to looke to the Towne, while I might catch an houres rest or two; being, at eight a clock in the morning, to sit at a Court of Warre, upon the Mutineers of the day before. The grand round I went about one of the clock, and beginning at the maine Guard, I found that Captaine *Traherne*, Captaine of the Watch, was not upon the place; and resenting it, I directed his Ensigne to send for him, in my name, to attend his duty: which was done accordingly, but *Traherne* came not. Going on the round, at every Port, I charged them, upon paine of death, that neither Officer, nor Souldier, should stirre off from their Guard; ever adding, that the enemy was advancing, and the Towne in danger. Comming to *Bysters Gate*, at which Port they that come from *Ledbury* enter, and where indeed the enemy did enter, I found the Corporall so drunke that he could not give me the word, whom I corrected for the present with my Cane, and commanded my Captaine, Livetenant, the above mentioned *Ballard*, who commanded the round with me, (mine owne Company being upon the Guard) to place an Officer in Commission at that Port, as soone as the grand round should be ended, and to lay the Corporall by the heeles. Looking up I called to the Sentinel that stood on the top of that Gate, to swingle his match; and answer being made, that he had a snap-hanz, for the more surety, I sent another Souldier up and called him downe, and finding it to be so, and fixt, and laden, I returned him up to his sentry place and added one more to him; leaving a strict charge, that the Sentries should be often visited, and relieved

ved every halfe houre. So that whereas it is noyfed, that I called downe this Sentry, and returned none up, to meet with this rumor, you may perceive, that instead of one I placed there two. And here, seeing it is in my way, let me answer another as frivolous objection. It is bruited abroad, that I gave money to corrupt the Guard. Tis true, that as I passed by the Ports, I gave in that cold snovie night, some twelvecence, or eightence a peece, as my custome was, to each Guard; yet with order to the Officer, who received that money from me, that they should not drinke it till nine a clock; and five shillings I gave to the Officer of the Horse, with like order. But at this Port (*Bysters Gate*) finding things as you see not in order I gave not one penny. The grand round being ended, about five of the clock I commanded my Captaine Livetenant *Ballard* to continue rounds without ceasing, untill eigh, tand to give me an account. Which Order he altogether neglected, though I did not only give it him at the dismissing of the Guards; but afterwards, at mine owne house, repeating it twice at least: Yea, it was the last word I said unto him. But it is no wonder, if we consider what doth follow: For in place of it, tis very well knowne, by testimony of some who entred the Towne with the enemy, that he the said *Ballard* drew off the Guards from *Bysters Gate*; where, when the Towne was entred, were but foure Souldiers. And further, that he had beforehand poysoned, or by some other means, disabled the Murthering Peece, which lay in the mouth of *Bysters Gate*. Both which good Officers were faire preparatives for the force which was without to enter with greater ease and safetie. But where is Major *Chaplaine*, the

Towne Major, whom the Common Councell some weekes before recommended to me for that place with much importunity. It is not unknowne, I then told them, that he would deceive them, and would not rise in a morning. And now they find my words made good: For according to Order I expected him to take the charge of the Towne as befitted his Office; yea, I enquired often for him not without passion; but then no newes could be heard of him: Yet now in his confession, under his hand, he is not ashamed to avow, that he was in his bed when the Towne was taken, which was about eight a clock in the morninge. And though his nature may incline some to thinke that this was sloth; and others, through his report, that the woundes which he had in his body, and the attendance of the Chyrurgion to dresse it, may be the matter; yet I doubt there was a worse thing in it. For cleerely, the wound that troubled him, for it is but one, is but in the nature of an Issue, and requires but the attendance of an Issue. Besides, this wound hath been in him some yeares; and notwithstanding it, during the siege of *Hereford*, which was not above foure moneths before, he was able to watch all night; and doe his duty all day, taking his rest but as other Officers did. But suppose him to be generally unable to rise betimes; yet when that Towne which recommended him to, the place was in danger, and the Governour, by expresse Order had commanded him to be with him by five in the morning; and at a time, when all the Towne knew, by Proclamation, that the enemy was approaching: For him then not to obtaine of himselfe to rise two or three houres before his accustomed time, but to sleepe, secure, doth shrewdly infer his minde

to be in a worse condition then his body. But sleep he did not all this while; he was awake carely enough, yea too soon in that respect. For his Lieu: *Cooper* spake with him that morning, and received from his hands the keyes of the Sally Ports of the Castle: with which keyes, for my part, I know not what Major *Chaplaine* did. But Lieu: *Lightfoot*, to whose custody these keyes did properly belong, informes, that this *Chaplaine*, that night in my name (and I say again without my knowledge) demanded the Keyes of him, as sent for by me, and got them from him by much importunity. Possible enough it is, that through these Sally-ports the enemy received intelligence that night and morning: for it is most certaine, they expected intelligence out of the Towne, even to the very minute of their entrance, in case any difficulty should have risen unexpectedly, to secure themselves. But *Cooper* finding me gone to rest, thought likely the time to be now most fit, and finding the Sally-port keyes to be of no further use for his designe in hand, to conceale himselfe, rids his hands of those keyes to Lieutenant *Lightfoot*, as returned by his Major, and then comes instantly to my house, and demands and presses with great importunity to have the keyes of the great Gates delivered him, pretending that carts and people staied in the street to go forth; which though it might have a colorable shew was far from truth. But his earnestnesse at length prevailed with him that waited in my chamber to steale up that he might not awake mee, and to take the keyes which were in the win-

dow (and so still in my sight being awake) and to bring them downe to him.

The keyes received, away he hastens, and omitting the ordinary duties, which were to go to the main Guard, and take a guard with him, sends the other keyes to their severall Ports, and passing to Byfters gate, opens not the wicket, sends out no Scouts, but opens the great Gate, lets downe the great Chaine, lets fall the Draw-bridge, and going over himselfe, while he saw upon the side of the More the Liev. and six souldiers, who acted the part of the Constable and Labourers (whose reported pretence of being sent for by warrant) *Cooper* could not but know to be untrue, for hee was the overseer of the VVorks, & writ all such VVarrants, and saw the snow upon the ground which made it unfit for work, and knew that the Ice was every day broken by the Garrison, cries out (and to them certainly) *Now or Never, Now or Never*. And happily thinking it would be too hot for him to returne the same way he went forth, runs amaine along the ditch side, and comes backe into the Towne at the Castle; which very returne into the Towne, when hee could not but see as hee ran along the Enemy eating, shewes that he had a greater confidence in them, then one true to the Garrison could have.

VVith this the Enemy enters, the above mentioned persons, Captaine *Howorth* being in the forelorne-hope of foot that seconded the said personated Constable and Labourers: Sir *John Bridges* in the forelorne-hope of Horse, and

and Captaine *Aldern* in the second division. Being entred the Gate, where they found but foure Souldiers, the fore-lorne-hope of Horse, takes the right hand, and seizeth upon the Main-guard, where were but six Souldiers and one Ensigne; And Captaine *Alderne*, my professed Enemy, takes the left hand to my house and the Castle. My man brings word to my bed-side the Enemy was entered. I leapt up, commanded him to get me a horse, and slipping on my cloathes, I ran instantly downe with my Sword and Pistoll in my hand, to the fore gate towards the street, where the Enemies Horse already come fired upon me, and shot my Secretary into the belly. At which I retreating, another of the house, shuts the door, & out I got at a back way towards the River, in hopes still of my horse. Vpon the left hand, at the Castle, I was shewed the Enemy gallopping towards me, upon the right hand, going to the Bishops Pallace, I found a body of their foot comming into the Pallace yard: and seeing my selfe thus beset, my boy shewing mee that a couple were gotten to the other side of the River over the Ice, by which I perceived it would beare; I passed over, and got to the gate at *Wybridge*, where intending to get into the Towne at the wicker, I saw most of the guard gone, and a body of their horse comming upon the Bridge; and then, understanding the Enemy to be fully possessed of the Towne, and no possibility of resistance left, I resolved to cast my self at the King my Masters feet, and rather to be sacrificed for his service, if his wisdom, upon triall of mee, should so order it, then to live with appearance of such evill, either by putting
my

my selfe into the protection of the Enemy, or by any other way of flying from the Kings justice, desert mine owne innocency. From hence then I went to *Ludlow*, and from *Ludlow* in like manner to *Worcester*, professing there my purpose to ride to *Oxford*. But sicknesse staying me there a weeke untoucht, in comes my deputy Governour, and very unthankfully, being stirred up with a causelesse revenge, chargeth me with the losse of *Hereford* by treachery; which, if it were true, the Orders given and diligence used by mee, manifested in the foregoing Relation, would be a strange peece of policie; for it is as cleare as the Sunne that if the inferiour officers upon whom this Relation in the face of the world, chargeth the losse of the place, had performed those Orders, it had been impossible that the Town should have been taken in this manner though I had concurred. For there would have beene an Alarum, and then, the Garrison with the Towne and Gentry, would have made their defence sufficiently, maugre the Governour. But I am charged, and must answer; you shall heare the proofes. It is said that I received money for the delivering the Towne and Lieut: *Wykes*, who is a person that hath relation to my knowne Enemies, gives in evidence, that Mr. *Charles Bridges* did affirme to him, that about five or six dayes before the losse of *Hereford* he brought sixteene or seventeen hundred pounds to me for the delivery of the Towne.

To cleare which, Mr. *Charles Bridges* hath disclaimed it to severall persons of honour and quality. But then *Wykes* alleadgeth further that Mr. *Thomas Pembridge*, *Collonell*

Morgans

Morgans Secretary said to him, that he knew nothing of the said seventeen hundred pounds; but that he had brought twelve hundred pounds from Gloucester to the old Gore, being a little Village betweene Hereford and Gloucester, he being one of the Convoy, which money he saw told in Gloucester, and (to Wykes his best remembrance) said it was for Sir Barnabas Scudamore for the delivery of Hereford; and that hee the said Pembridge thought, that the Parliament would be glad, if Sir Barnabas Scudamore were put to death that they might pay him no more money. Now, if for one man to allege, that he heard another man, and another, say this and that thing, shall passe for good evidence in a judiciall triall, or with just men, what innocency, what person can be safe? Besides, for mine owne part, I that tender the good of my soule, and would not (however other things may goe with me) lose my reputation with good men, by adding wilfull falsehood to these scandalls, do here solemnly protest before God and the world, that I never received from the Parliament, or any other person whatsoever, or treated with the Parliament, or any person whatsoever, directly or indirectly, for the delivery up of Hereford.

And Collonell Birches printed letter, upon the taking of Hereford to his superiours in London, shews, that there were great disbursements made to severall persons, besides deepe engagements, upon their going on to Hereford: so that there were instruments enow to be satisfied more then this twelve hundred pounds would performe; and therefore, men need not muse what imployment there should be for this summe

though the Governour touched it not. Secondly, tis alleged I had intelligence with the enemy : And for prooffe of this t here is produced a paper, wherein there were figures and words at length , which they say were written by me.

Resol. Tis true , I confesse the scribling of such a Paper; but not with those thoughts as they would have it. To satisfie your desires, the manner, thus :

About a Moneth before the Towne was lost, having been all day sitting with the Commissioners of Array, and returning weary and melancholy to my House, some little space before supper time I found my Secretary writing in the Parlour , with divers others of my Servants ; and taking one of his penes, I tore a peece of the backside of a letter, which was foule too , and broken with the scale ; and sitting downe I began to suffer my pen to drop forth any thing that a melancholy fancie, intending nothing, might happen upon. So first I wrote three or four Arithmetical figures , then three or foure wordes , then leaving a blanck space I wrote againe words, and then figures, and so wordes interchangeably for some six lines, subscribed with my name, and dated at *Hereford* , both written backward ; and then againe my name written at large forward. By which time , hearing some company comming in to suppe with me , and knowing one of them to have an intention to procure a passe from *Glocester*, I suddainely foulded up this written characterized peece of paper, and endorsed it, (for Major

Dobson at Gloucester) to give occasion to the company and the aforesaid Gentleman to exercise their wits and to make themselves merry in desciphering and giving significations to things that were altogether non-significant, and so left it carelessly upon the Table for one of them to take up. Accordingly taken up it was by one of them, (*Sir Baynham Throgmorton* my Cousin Germane in the first degree) but it seemes with a false heart; who, insteade of communicating it for sporte, concealed it in his pocket; (though he could be contented to sup with me that night,) and instead of revealing it Loyally to the King, with that diligence as the nature of such an affaire did require, (it being in his apprehention, as is now pretended, intelligence with the enemy,) conceales it about a Moneth, till *Hereford* was lost: And then, comes his unthankfull brother, *Sir Nicholas Throgmorton* my Deputie Governour, in a causelesse revenge (being formerly upon some difference with a person of quality, as well as he, confined by me) and bringes it with him to *Worcester*; and by virtue of that nonsense-paper, principally, laies this charge of Treachery upon me. But, seeing no intelligence can be held between two without communication, and that no conceipts of the minde can be communicated by non-significant meanes, I hope this scrowle will never be admitted as an evidence against me, untill that which is writ within, be first proved to signifie and intend such intelligence as is presumed. Now that by scribbling or writing upon this paper there was any intention in me to send or communicate any thing

to Major *Dobson*, I disavow, and doe here againe affirme in the presence of God, under the same Protestation, which I formerly made concerning Money, that it was not so much as conceived in my thoughts. Which yet if any man should distrust, I could produce a paper from Major *Dobson*, though I never sought it, in which under his owne hand, he doth upon the faith of a Gentleman, and the honour of a Soldier averre, that there hath never any letter, or character, passed from me to him, concerning the betraying of the Towne of *Hereford*. And these are the Columns upon which they have placed their charge of Treachery; namely, these two heare-saies, and this scrap of non-significant paper.

But here is not all: For besides this Treachery, I am further charged with willfull negligence; and so examined upon these particulars following.

Ob. 1. First tis alledged, that I commanded to have the Key of the Sally-port of *St. Owens Gate*, to send out a Party of Horse, but did not.

Resol. Tis true, I intended to send forth a party of Horse, in case an Alarum should be given; but no Alarum comming, no order was given to send out that way.

Ob. 2. Secondly, they say, that a Knight in the Towne sent two of his men in armes to have gone with the party of Horse, but the Governour sent them back with thanks, and said he had sent out a party already which was not so.

Ref. I grant there was no party sent out; but that was Major *Fletcher's* fault, not mine: for I gave Orders that afternoone, to him that commanded the Horse in cheife, to send out a good party of Horse, with a carefull Officer, at Port shutting; which Order Major *Fletcher*, in his examination upon oath, confesseth to be charged upon him by the person commanding the Horse in cheife: but, it is evident, these Orders were not observed by him. Now, I supposing Horse to be sent forth according to my Order & no Alarum given, to what purpose should I have sent out that Gentlemans two Horses? But the truth is I remember nothing of any such offer made me.

Ob. 3. Thirdly, tis said, that Captain *Fletcher*, and one Master *Terringham*, after they had gone the grand round with me that night, desired that they might goe forth, or send out a party of their Horse.

Resol. But, this is as true as the rest, and Major *Fletcher* in his examination only affirms, that having gone the grand round, he asked me whether I would command him any further service, expecting (he doth not say desiring) that I would have some of those Horse sent out. To which question, (apprehending it only as a civill taking of leave, not knowing that the Order of sending forth Horse at Port shutting was charged on him; nor having the least suspition that the said Order was neglected, and so no Horse abroad) I answered, no more then the observance of their former Order; which was an Order requiring all Horse in the Towne (excepting those

that were upon the out-guard that night) to be ready by eight a clock the same morning, and so dismissed them.

Ob. 4. Fourthly, because Livetenant *Cooper*, the Major of the Townes Livetenant, did fetch the keies of the Ports from my House, and did so perfidiously open the Gate, at which the enemy entred, it is alledged (by the said Major *Chaplain*, to excuse his owne palpable naughtinesse) that I did know and allow of his Livetenant *Cooper* to open the Ports.

Resol. But this hath as much truth as the former: For to what end did the Towne commend, and I entertaine him to be Major, if his Livetenant could supply the place, and the trust should be reposed in him? And these be the maine arguments, by which they would make me guilty of wilfull negligence. I confesse I am more then halfe ashamed to lengthen the Readers trouble in setting downe such triviall things, especially since none of these objections have been proved upon oath. Yet, having been interrogated upon them, I thought it not amisse for satisfaction, to produce them to the view of the world to meet with rumors, lest they should gaine credit to my prejudice.

So, now you have seen both the charge and the proofs. The charge great enough, Treachery and Negligence: And the proofes weake enough, neither of them valid, even to the ordinary Reader. For as to the Charge of wilfull negligence, none of the allegations above recited hath been made upon oath: but being sent to the Advocate Marshall, he thought it not amisse to heare what I could

could answer to them.

And as to the charge of treachery they have only offered as I said before, two heare-saies and a scrap of non-significant paper. Yet I have laine long enough a prisoner at *Worcester* for depositions to have been sent in, if matter could have been as readily found as my adversaries have been laborious and curious to hunt after it.

But how unlikely is it, that my desires should any wayes concur in this fact, seeing the losse of that place hath not only put my life, but my good name, more precious then life, to most eminent hazard? By this meanes, I am deprived not onely of the honour of being Governour, and the benefit accruing by that command; but of all meanes of satisfaction for provisions of my owne, which were in the towne, before the time of my being Governour, and delivered by my Commissary to the Garrison, amounting to the value of 700 and odd pounds; of all hopes of reliefe for my other ingagements and disbursements to the Commissarie for the Garrison, amounting to as much more by the Commissaries Accompts; of all stores of provisions, &c arrears of my allowance for my own house: Not to speak of my intertainment money, horses, plate, and household-stuffe, surmounting in all the summe of 3000l. Besides, the estates of my friends, and of my best friends in that County, in which was included the onely meanes remayning for my subsistence, was heereby exposed to Sequestration: the many noble and worthy persons of both sexes, whom I loved and honoured, who had fled thither for their last refuge.

The

The Towne, in which I had some part of my Education, and whereof I was now a sworn member : my fellow Citizens and companions in Loyalty, that so bravely assisted me in the late siege against a formidable Army of Scots; all these were made lyable (I should detest to live, if by me) to the mercy of a party which esteemed us, as of all others most malignant, so most worthy of extream severity. And all this, for what? for twelve, or seventeen hundred pounds? why, you see by that above mentioned, that I should have been so a loser in point of money. And if it be replied that I should have received more afterward; I pray you reflect, that the way to *Oxford*, was not the way to that. The blood of ancient Gentry, and of an untainted family, makes me abhorre the first apprehensions of so detestable and damnable a fact. For no act can bee more perfectly base & cowardly, then, for feare of any temporall want, to desert in this sort, iustice, Honour, and Humanity. Let my carriage be considered before, and after this action. Take a view of the whole course of my life, and particularly in this warre. Looke upon the orders I gave even to the last, while this evill fortune was in motion. Regard my behaviour since, putting my selfe, stript of all assistance, into the power of the Kings party, intraged like Lions with that losse; and doth not my behaviour in these distinct parts of time, administer just arguments of innocency and constancy?

But not to tire the Reader, this was done by externall force, and therefore it needs not be considered what reason

or what affection might carry me, for it was done by others, and in no wise by me. Briefly, you see my diligence was such in point of intelligence, that wee had continuall notice of the motions of the Enemy, till the Horse were to goe forth at Port-shutting that VVednesday night; and the failing of their going forth was not through default of order from me. Then, upon the intelligence, orders were presently given out, and continually renewed by mee, to the Major of the Towne, Captaine *Chaplain*, to double the guards within. And drawing the Horse in, I commanded them double duty, that is, to guard as well without as within the Towne. Vpon the said VVednesday in the afternoon as soone as the notice of the Enemies advance came to mee, I imparted it immediatly to Mr. Major, and published it by Proclamation to the whole Towne. At nine a clocke that night, I dismiss the Towne Major *Chaplain* to his rest, that he might be with me at five next morning to take care of the Towne. I went the Grand Round, not remissly; but correcting faults as I passed: I sent for Captaine *Traberne* Captaine of the watch to come to the place of his duty, the Maine Guard: At every Port, I charged them upon paine of death, that neither Officer nor Souldier should stirre off their guard, ever inculcating, that the Enemy was advancing, and the Towne in danger. I Cudgelled the drunken Corporall at *Bysters* Gate, commanding him to be set by the heels, and that an officer in Commission should bee placed at that Port. I viewed the Centries Armes that stood over that Gate, and added another Centrie to him, directing the Centries should be visited and relieved every halfe houre.

At the dismissing the Guards, I charged *Ballard* to continue Rounds, without ceasing, untill eight a clocke in the morning, and then to bring me an account.

Permit me this further, that I was so farre from giving order (as is reported) that the Gates should bee opened at 8, a clock, that I intended they should be kept shut at least till ten. For having received private notice that some opposition was like to be made by Townesmen, in defence of the Mutiniers to be tried; I was willing, that businesse should be ended, before the Gates were unlocked. And my resolution being, immediatly after the rising of the Court of VVar, to march out my selfe in person with the whole body of Horse, to discover, and observe the motions of the Enemy, I truly meant the ports should not be opened till I went forth my selfe. And of this resolution of mine, Liev. Colonel *Jeffreyes* is a perfect witness; to whom I did communicate it, upon Letters I had received the day before, from Sir *Michael Woodhouse* Governour of *Ludlow*, who suspected the Enemy had a designe to plant a Garrison at *Tenbury*, to stop the intercourse betweene *Ludlow* and *Worcester*.

But you see how my intention was made frustrate: my servant that waited upon me in my chamber, stealing away the keyes (as he might no lesse easily have taken away my life) from the place (where and in places like to which all Governours use to confide their keyes) they usually rested, and safely enough even during the late siege; though I will not charge my said servant with any knowledge of Lieutenant *Coopers* treacherous purpose. And this is the negligence that I am guilty of. Now if any of these orders

had

had been fully executed, could this Towne have been lost? It cannot be imagined. On the other side, you see how the plot was laid and Carried. *Sir Iohn Bridges* and *Colonell Birch*, riding into *Hereford shire*, receive information of the present state of *Hereford*, by *Captaine Howorth* and *Captain Alderne*: these two, with the addition of *Captaine Ballard* my Lievtenant, conveyed continuall intelligence to *Glocester*. *Major Fletcher* omits to send forth out guards: *Major Chaplaine* failes to double the guards within; and, in a word, keeping his bed, neglects the whole duty naturally inherent in the place of Major. *Captain Treberne*, Captain of the watch, comes not at all to the maine Guard. *Captain Lievtenant Ballard*, commanding the guards, drawes off the guards from *Bysters Gate*, in order to his disabling beforehand the murthering Peece. *Lievtenant Cooper* opens the great gate, lets downe the chaine, lets downe the draw bridge, and gives the word, *Now, or Never*; with which the Enemy enters, with three or foure and twenty hundred, accompanied with *Captaine Howorth*, *Sir Iohn Bridges*, and *Captaine Alderne*: And yet the whole businesse still lay upon me: although, by this time, it is very well knowne what it cost the Parliament, and who received their moneyes.

This is the truth: and I doubt not, but it will finde credit with good men, and abundantly satisfie the generous and judicious spirits in order to my innocency, and deliver mee from the false & foule charge of Treachery or Negligence. My conscience bearing witnesse with me, that I am guilty only of the unhappinesse of it; which hath been, and is common to all men, of honor, of my profession,

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